Learned Publishing, 20, 165–172
doi: 10.1087/095315107X205084

The challenge of open access for university presses

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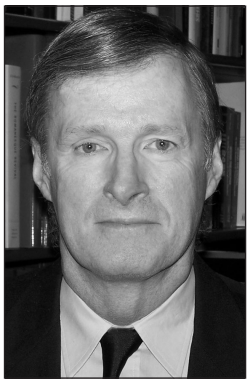
ABSTRACT: University presses were founded in the late 19th century to help alleviate a problem of market failure, namely insufficient demand in the commercial marketplace to sustain a publishing operation on the basis of sales alone. Now, in the face of claims about another type of market failure – insufficient funds to sustain library subscriptions to STM journals – calls have come forth to change the economic model of publishing from sales-based to grants-based, offering the fruits of knowledge free to all users with an Internet connection. This paper examines both the challenges and the opportunities that the variants of 'open access' present to university presses, as they seek to fulfill their traditional mission of disseminating knowledge 'far and wide' while remaining sustainable as businesses.

Introduction

The increasing enthusiasm for open access as a model for scholarly communication presents new challenges and new opportunities for university presses. From the founding of the first American university presses in the late 19th century, the purpose of the university press has always been to assist the university in fulfilling its noble mission 'to advance knowledge, and to diffuse it not merely among those who can attend the daily lectures – but far and wide', in the famous words of President Daniel Coit Gilman of The Johns Hopkins University.[1] Academic leaders such as Gilman acknowledged that, for most scholarly works, there was insufficient commercial demand to sustain a publishing operation on sales alone. They therefore recognized an obligation to establish presses at their own universities and to subsidize them to the extent necessary to make them sustainable over time, so as to serve universities' needs to share the knowledge they were generating.

Knowledge, as distinct from raw information, is expensive to produce and requires – in addition to the scholar's own work – a rigorous process of editorial selection and peer review, as well as a high level of quality in copy-editing, design, production, marketing, and distribution, in order to achieve the excellence for which university presses have come to be widely praised.[2] Universities have made substantial investments in their presses, and the staff who run them are expert at what they do. The system of scholarly communication that these presses do so much to support has played a vital role in the spread of knowledge worldwide. Calls to change this system need to take careful account of the costs that would be involved, not just for individual university presses but also for their parent universities, as well as for the scholarly societies that also contrib-



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the present system is unsustainable over the long run

ute in major ways to the current system. Both university presses and scholarly societies are eager to experiment with new ways of performing their mission. They endeavor to make the best use of modern technology to cut costs, and to achieve even wider distribution of their publications than has been possible in the world of print media. At the same time, they urge that such experimentation be conducted in a responsible fashion. It is important not to negate the progress that has already been made toward greater efficiency over the past couple of decades, or to undermine the valuable contributions that university presses and society publishers have made to the system of scholarly communication for several centuries.

While justly proud of their achievements, university presses have never been averse to change. Rather, being embedded in the culture of higher education that values experimentation and advances in knowledge, university presses have themselves been open to new ways of facilitating scholarly communication and have been active participants in the process. Prominent examples from the last decade are listed in Table 1.[3]

Open access as challenge and as opportunity

The phrase 'open access' has in recent years come to stand for the more general pressure for change in the system, largely in response to the financial burdens on academic libraries of maintaining subscriptions to commercially published journals in science, technology, and medicine (STM). It is widely acknowledged that the present system for this sector of publishing is unsustainable over the long run, and many fear that the results of new research will increasingly be accessible through restrictive licenses to only a handful of the wealthiest universities, and be unavailable 'toll-free' to the general public and to scholars in developing countries. Hence the call has arisen for a new publishing model of open access that will ensure the continued ability of universities to disseminate knowledge 'far and wide'.

University presses recognize that they have an obligation to confront the many challenges – economic, legal, and technological – to the existing system. We presses are eager to participate with all willing partners, within and outside the university, in experimenting with new approaches, including varieties of open access. We agree that 'the broad dissemination of the results of scholarly inquiry and discourse is essential for higher education to fulfill its long-standing commitment to the advancement and conveyance of knowledge'.[4] And we further agree that 'the present system of scholarly

Table 1

Project Muse	http://muse.jhu.edu/
History E-Book Project	http://www.historyebook.org/
History Cooperative	http://www.historycooperative.org/
AnthroSource	http://www.anthrosource.net/
eScholarship Editions	http://content.cdlib.org/escholarship/
Cambridge Companions Online	http://www.cambridge.org/online/ccol/
The Founders' Constitution	http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/
Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO)	http://www.ciaonet.org/
Gutenberg-e	http://www.gutenberg-e.org/
The New Georgia Encyclopedia	http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/
MIT CogNet	http://cognet.mit.edu/
Oxford Scholarship Online	http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/
Rotunda	http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/
Digital Culture Series	http://www.digitalculture.org/

communication does not always serve the best interests of our institutions or the general public' and that 'scholarly publishers [especially society and university presses], academic libraries, university leaders, and scholars themselves must engage in an ongoing dialogue about the means of scholarly production and distribution'.

It is important to understand, however, just what risks and dangers are involved, and just how wide a range of experiments can be subsumed under the generic term 'open access'. It is also important to extend this discussion, hitherto confined mostly to the arena of STM journal publishing, much more broadly to consider the implications of open access for all types of scholarly communication. Given the interconnectedness of knowledge, it is also unwise not to explore the implications of open access for all fields of knowledge, lest an unfortunate new 'digital divide' should arise between fields and between different types of publishing.[5] This is, after all, a system, and tinkering with one part in isolation is likely to have significant and perhaps unintended consequences for other parts; these consequences must be considered carefully.[6]

The many meanings of open access

One succinct definition of 'open access' publication is that it is 'digital, online, free of charge, and free of most copyright and licensing restrictions'.[7] Proponents of open access have largely concentrated their attention on promoting this as a solution to the problems of STM journal publishing. The well-known Budapest Open Access Initiative (BOAI) defines open access as

> permitting any users to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts of these *articles*, crawl them for indexing, pass them as data to software, or use them for any other lawful purpose, without financial, legal, or technical barriers other than those inseparable from gaining access to the internet itself.[8]

However, in principle this could be applied to all types of scholarly publishing. The recently proposed US legislation known as the Federal Research Public Access Act of 2006 (FRPAA) would, for example, also affect any research in the social sciences funded by the National Science Foundation or any of ten other federal agencies, including the Environmental Protection Agency and the Departments of Education, Energy, and Defense. And calls for widespread use of institutional repositories and for self-archiving by individual scholars as promoting open access are by no means limited to the STM journal literature.[9]

Some university presses have long been experimenting with types of open access, and others are beginning to do so. In the early 1990s the presses, libraries, and computer centers of the Committee on Institutional Cooperation[10] developed a plan for a prototype of open access publishing of books and journals within the CIC and, prospectively, beyond it to the wider international academic community.[11] In 1994 the National Academies Press began to make its books available online for free, full-text browsing worldwide, but with various copyright and technological restrictions that might not qualify it as full open access under some definitions.[12] This approach, however, certainly implements the spirit of open access while not abandoning a market-based model for scholarly publishing. Other university presses, such as Oxford University Press, have recently been experimenting with both full and partial open access journal publishing.[13] And some other presses are launching monograph series in the humanities that will further experiment with the approach pioneered by the National Academies Press.[14] We presses believe that it is important to keep an open mind about what constitutes open access, not least because not all approaches that might merit that name need be incompatible with a market-based model.

it is important to keep an open mind about what constitutes open access

There are more radical approaches that abandon the market as a viable basis for scholarly publishing, and instead try to implement a model that has come to be known as the 'gift economy', 'grants economy', or 'subsidy economy'.[15] The following points need to be kept in mind by administrators who oversee university presses, and by those who oversee faculty and libraries. These are among the potential problems that we shall all cooperatively have to grap-

ple with if we are to devise a workable full open access publishing system to replace the current market-based system.[16]

Potential problems for full open access

1. Instead of relying on sales to pay for most publishing costs, full open access will require large contributions from either the authors or other sources (including research funders, foundations, and libraries – it has been proposed that the last might pay 'member' fees instead of paying for subscriptions). Authors at less wealthy institutions, or those with no institutional affiliations at all, may experience greater difficulty in publishing their articles and monographs, unless fees are waived or reduced for 'hardship' cases. (The process for determining when fees should be waived or reduced will itself cost something to administer, and will increase the burden on other authors, who will have to pay higher fees to offset those waived or reduced.) This will be especially true for monographs, the publishing cost for which now runs around $25,000 to $30,000 (for an average monograph of 250 pages with no illustrations), and would still be close to $20,000–25,000 even on a 'print-on-demand' basis.[17] While inequities among users may be resolved by open access publishing, they may resurface as inequities among those wishing to publish.

the costs of scholarly communication will merely be shifted from one sector to another

2. The costs of scholarly communication overall will likely not change radically, but will merely be shifted from one sector of the university to another. Only a small proportion of publishing costs is involved with printing, order fulfillment, and warehousing; thus, shifting to e-only publication will reduce the costs relatively little. If publishers are to continue to manage the peer-review process and to provide other 'value-added' services, most of their current costs will still exist. In addition, many end-users will prefer to print out what they want to read, especially longer articles and books; the printing devices that they use are less economical, and produce less convenient outputs, than dedicated printing presses. Assuming that traditional print publishing will not disappear overnight, there will also be continuing costs for maintaining that part of the system, as well as the added costs for supporting new online publishing ventures. If faculty are themselves asked to become publishers, they will spend more of their time performing tasks for which they are not trained, will produce knowledge of lower quality to the end-user as a result, and will cost their universities more, because faculty are generally compensated at a higher rate than publishing staff.[18]

3. Requirements for full open access publishing of journal articles, whether through the journals themselves or by way of authors' self-archiving in institutional repositories or elsewhere, will undermine existing well-regarded services such as Project Muse (http://muse.jhu.edu/ – the electronic platform for over 300 journals in the humanities and social sciences, jointly operated by the library and press at The Johns Hopkins University) that rely on revenues from institutional site licensing for their continuation. JSTOR (http://www.jstor.org/) would remain viable, but increasingly less valuable.[19] Full open access, as defined in the BOAI, is inherently incompatible with site licensing as a model for journal publishing and archiving. Since such ventures have proven their value in terms of cost-efficiency and ease of use, any open access alternatives should be tested carefully to see whether they can clearly provide superior service at less cost before these existing ventures are allowed to disappear.

4. Universities that operate presses would need to decide how much of the cost of maintaining the current system they were willing to continue to bear, and how much they would expect funders or other universities (which, in the humanities, provide the majority of funding) to absorb by providing full or partial subsidies for publication of both journal articles and monographs. In 2005, university presses recovered 90% of their operating costs, roughly $500m, from sales. Of that $500m, sales to libraries accounted for 15–20%, or $75–100m. The rest came from sales to general and college bookstores, to online retailers, and directly to individual scholars.[20] A university opting

to support all the costs itself, rather than just some as at present, could expect its costs to rise dramatically.[21] (Parent university support for presses now averages 9% of book sales[22] – many provide no subsidy at all.) Conversely, if a parent university were to decide to maintain only the current level of support, other universities and funders that do not currently support the system, or do so only through small and occasional subsidies for publication, could expect their costs to rise dramatically. Offsetting these costs would be whatever amounts their libraries would save in journal subscriptions and monograph purchases. Since commercial publishers (and probably society publishers, too) would not have the option of converting to a full 'subsidy economy' – at least for monographs[23] – those amounts would be equivalent only to what libraries currently spend on university press publications.

5. Commercial, and indeed society, publishers might well decide against remaining in the academic market with reduced profits or surpluses – as envisioned by open access advocates. In these circumstances, universities without presses would have to decide which of the journals abandoned by these publishers they could afford to pick up and subsidize by creating a mechanism for publishing them online and paying the staff to run it; universities with presses would need to determine how much they could increase the output of their presses to accommodate additional journals and monographs. These decisions could involve very significant new capital investments in their presses' infrastructure; commercial and society publishers now publish many thousands of scholarly journals and books annually.

In addition, the plight of scholarly societies under BOAI-style open access is particularly worrisome. As nonprofit organizations committed to supporting effective scholarly communications and professional standards in their fields, these societies provide a wide range of services to scholars and scholarship, including annual conferences, professional development opportunities, recognition of scholarly excellence, and statistical information on such matters as enrolment and employment in their fields, as well as respected publishing programmes.[24] Whether a given society's publishing activities underwrite other services or must be supported by other revenues, funding for essential professional and scholarly activities would be jeopardized by a mandate which resulted in a shift to full open access, thus increasing the financial burdens on individual scholars as both authors and professionals by increasing the costs of society membership, attendance at professional meetings, and the like.

6. Change in the marketplace may well not come gradually, as many supporters of open access believe, but suddenly, as a result of the 'tipping point' (which the FRPAA could be, particularly for society and commercial STM journal publishers), leaving the system of scholarly communication in at least a temporary state of chaos.[25] Universities should prepare themselves as best they can for this 'worst-case' scenario, and not simply assume that change will be slow and steady.

for university presses open access does not necessarily pose a threat

Conclusion

For university presses, unlike commercial and society publishers, open access does not necessarily pose a threat to their operation and their pursuit of their mission to 'advance knowledge, and to diffuse it . . . far and wide'. Presses could exist in a 'gift economy' for at least the most scholarly of their publishing functions; costs could be internally reallocated (from library purchases to faculty grants and press subsidies). But presses have increasingly been required by their parent universities to operate in the market economy; some presses are even expected to provide income for their universities beyond supporting their operating costs. The worries that university presses feel over the erosion of copyright protection (in the form of more aggressive interpretations of 'fair use' as applied to e-reserve and course-management systems) directly reflect this pressure, as presses have been compelled to rely on income from licensing in order to pay their bills.[26] Any decision to abandon that model and switch to a 'gift economy' would require very careful thought and planning. The AAUP and its member presses welcome the

opportunity to collaborate with university administrators, librarians, and faculty in designing new publishing models. However, we must remember the importance of protecting what is most valuable about the existing system, which has served the scholarly community and the general public so well for many centuries, even while undertaking reforms to make the system work better for everyone in the future.

Acknowledgements

For comments on this article I want to express my appreciation to Edward Barnas, Joseph Esposito, Ellen Faran, Peter Givler, Alex Holzman, Penelope Kaiserlian, Kathleen Keane, Brenna McLaughlin, David Nicholls, Philip Pochoda, Barbara Kline Pope, Kate Torrey, Robert Townsend, Will Underwood and Lynne Withey.

Note

This article originated as an effort to formulate a position on open access for the Association of American University Presses (AAUP), but grew to become longer and more complex than the AAUP desired. An abbreviated version became the official statement from the AAUP on the subject announced in February 2007; I was encouraged by the AAUP to publish this fuller version in a professional journal.

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2. For a description of how acquiring editors work to add value to monograph publishing, see Thatcher, S. G. 1999. The 'value added' in editorial acquisitions. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, 30: 59–74, available at http://www.utpjournals.com/product/jsp/302/302_thatcher.html. For copyediting, see Hunter, S. 2004. Why copy editors matter. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, 36: 6–14 http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/scp.2004.0030, and Henige, D. 2005. Commas, Christians, and editors. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, 36: 58–74 http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/scp.2005.0003. For design, see Tombs, R. et al. 2001. Why design is important: five designers speak to non-designers. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, 33: 37–46, available at http://www.utpjournals.com/product/jsp/331/design4. html. For a more general statement about what university presses contribute of value to the system of scholarly communication, see http://www.aaupnet.org/news/value.html.
3. For a useful summary, see Siler, J. M. 2000. From Gutenberg to gateway: electronic publishing at university presses. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, 32: 9–32, available at http://www.utpjournals.com/product/jsp/321/gateway2.html. For an even more current list of digital initiatives at university presses, see http://www.aaupnet.org/resources/electronic.html. For a marvellous overview of the evolution of scholarly publishing and the role of scholarly publishers as agents of change over the past two decades, see Thompson, J. B. *Books in the Digital Age* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2005), especially Part Four. For a review, see http://muse.jhu.edu/cgi-bin/access.cgi?uri=/journals/journal_of_scholarly_publishing/v037/37.2thatcher.html.
4. The quotes are from 'An open letter to the higher education community' signed by the provosts of 25 major research universities on 28 Jul 2006, advocating support of the Federal Research Public Access Act: http://www.cic.uiuc.edu/groups/CICMembers/archive/documents/FRPAAletterFinal7-28–06.pdf.
5. One exception to the narrow focus on STM journal publishing is Rosenzweig, R. 2005. Should historical scholarship be free? *Perspectives,* April 2005 , available at http://www.historians.org/Perspectives/issues/2005/0504/0504vic1.cfm. Even Rosenzweig, however, barely mentions monographs in this article and concentrates almost all his attention on history journal publishing.
6. Colin Steele, former University Librarian at the Australian National University, put the point succinctly in a posting (4 Jan 2007) to Liblicense, http://www.library.yale.edu/~llicense/index.shtml: 'all elements need to be linked in the scholarly communication process including innovation outcomes, but have been rarely addressed as such. Engaging the academic community in ownership of the process is essential. The signs in 2007, for whatever reason, are a little more optimistic, i.e., in addressing the issues holistically rather than simply reacting to the "serials cancellation crisis".' See also Thatcher, S. G. 'Thinking systematically about scholarly communication', talk delivered at the ACLS/ARL/AAUP conference on *The Specialized Scholarly Monograph in Crisis, or How Can I Get Tenure If You Won't Publish My Book?*, Washington, DC, 11–12 September 1997: http://www.arl.org/resources/pubs/specscholmono/thatcher.shtm
7. Suber, P. 'Open access overview', http://www.earlham.edu/~peters/fos/overview.htm (last updated 10 Mar 2006).
8. As quoted by Suber, *ibid*., italics added.
9. This is, for instance, a major theme of *Our Cultural Commonwealth: The Report of the ACLS Commission on Cyberinfrastructure for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (New York, American Council of Learned Societies, 2006), which claims: 'Open access is critical to constructing and deploying meaningful cyberinfrastructure, and it will be important for the humanities and social science to engage in active dialogue and then to lobby effectively concerning legislation and policy developments in this area' (p. 43). This advocacy derives from the Commission's view of scholarship as a 'public good': 'It may make more sense to conceive of scholarly communication as a public good rather than to think of it as a marketable commodity' (p. 31). See also Table I in Lynch, C. A. and Lippincott, J. K. 2005. Institutional repository deployment in the United States as of early 2005. *D-Lib Magazine*, 11, available at http://www.dlib.org/dlib/september05/lynch/09lynch.html.
10. The CIC is the academic consortium of the Big Ten US universities, plus the University of Chicago – see http://www.cic.uiuc.edu/
11. See Creth, S. 'University publishing in the electronic age: a collaboration among university press, libraries, and computer centers', ACLS/ARL/AAUP Conference on *The Specialized Monograph in Crisis, or How Can I Get Tenure If You Won't Publish My Book?*, Washington, DC, 11–12 September 1997, available at

http://www.arl.org/resources/pubs/specscholmono/creth.shtml. This prototype also envisioned distribution of different publishing functions throughout the consortium: 'It may turn out that, rather than have presses assume these added duties and costs [like SGML coding and archiving, which a CNI report at the time assumed publishers would have to undertake in the new electronic age], it will be more practical for other entities in the CIC universities to provide them, perhaps with some universities offering centralized service for the entire consortium. On this model presses would concentrate on providing content – peer reviewed, copy edited, and perhaps designed to some degree – and then other stages in the process of publication would be carried out elsewhere, the universities benefiting from the shared access to this new knowledge throughout the consortium. From a model of each press producing entirely on its own a stream of publications to be sold in the general marketplace, we might thereby move to a model of shared production and distribution within consortia. These products of the CIC universities might then be sold or licensed to the market outside the consortium, or even bartered with other consortia having similar intellectual goods to exchange. There would be a kind of free trade zone or common market ["open access"] within each consortium, and normal market arrangements beyond. Eventually, as cooperation among now independently operating units of universities became a more familiar mode of behaviour, one might even envisage a time when universities in the United States as a whole (and perhaps including Canadian universities as well and, over time, universities in other countries) could form an overarching consortium of consortia to become relatively self-sufficient in the production and distribution of scholarly knowledge. A market would still exist outside for some of its products—scientific knowledge needed by industry, certainly, and books intended for wider audiences—but much of the costs and benefits would be internalized, with the opportunity to achieve a greater degree of economic rationality in the system as a whole than exists now, when so much of value added comes from commercial publishers at exorbitant expense. Within a consortial system, copyright might cease to play its traditional role as a cost-recovery mechanism, if all publishing costs were paid up front and distribution within that system were to be done online "free" to the end user (who might, however, choose to pay a special fee to have hard copy printed out and bound). Copyright would then remain important (as it has always been in European law that recognizes "moral rights" as part of copyright) primarily as a guarantee of a work's integrity and the author's claim to be recognized as the creator of it – as a safeguard against plagiarism and misrepresentation, in other words.' Thatcher, S. G. 1996. Re-engineering scholarly communication: a role for university presses? *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, 27: 197–207. This vision of sharing electronic publishing functions in a more distributed manner throughout universities is now being realized as presses, libraries, and computer centers enter into more cooperative relationships, even to the extent of administrative mergers, as with Penn State University Press, which became part of the libraries after the two jointly established an Office of Digital Scholarly Publishing early in 2005 – see http://www.libraries.psu.edu/digital/scholarlycomm.

12. Pope, B. K. 1999. National Academy Press: a case study. *Journal of Electronic Publishing*, 4, available at http://www.press.umich.edu/jep/04–04/pope.html.
13. http://www.oxfordjournals.org/oxfordopen.
14. Penn State University Press started its Romance Studies series in 2005 by posting 'open access' monographs from its discontinued Romance Literatures series, and will publish its first new titles on this site in late 2007 – see http://romancestudies.psu.edu. Rice University announced in 2006 that it would resurrect its press as a digital publishing operation, with a special initial emphasis on art history. The University of California Press recently announced a new series called FlashPoints that aims to publish its first title in 2008.
15. *Our Cultural Commonwealth,* p. 30. See also Appendix D, 'Information economics: a primer', in National Research Council, *The Digital Dilemma: Intellectual Property in the Information Age*, Washington, DC, National Academies Press, 2000, available at http://books.nap.edu/html/digital_dilemma/appD.html. For a view that touts the advantages of this economic model for university press publishing, see Sanford G. Thatcher's review of *The Digital Dilemma*, 2000, *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, 32: 50–57, available at http://www.utpjournals.com/product/jsp/321/digital6.html. 'Indeed, a good argument could be made, on the very criteria set forth in Appendix D on the economics of information, that the most efficient model for university press publishing, all things considered (including the legal costs of protecting copyrights), would be to have the first-copy costs of publishing covered by grants from universities – not just universities that operate presses but (as the National Enquiry into Scholarly Communication recommended in its report way back in 1979) every college and university whose faculty participates in, and benefits from, the system of scholarly communication as it exists today. . . . The effect, for presses, of operating on a grants model would be to lessen their economic reliance on copyright law (which would remain important to authors, however, insofar as it affords protection against plagiarism). In fact, presses could then feel free to take full advantage of digital distribution and allow their publications to be accessed for no charge anywhere in the world. This would maximize the values of public access that the Committee is so keen to ensure and provide a kind of new foreign aid to underdeveloped countries that are unlikely ever to close the gap in efficient distribution of print materials but could, at least in major university centres, allow scholars all over the world to benefit from the fruits of new scholarship published by university presses through the Internet. Such a vision, one may hope, would please the authors of *The Digital Dilemma*, who have done so much here to stimulate new ideas about grappling with the challenges of the digital age. And, indeed, it would be fitting, since this book itself is available to anyone who can access the National Academy Press's website.'
16. The contrast between subsidized and market-based publishing, it needs to be remembered, is a contrast of ideal systems. In reality, the scholarly publishing system we have now, even where commercial publishers are involved, already depends on a significant degree of subsidy in the form of faculty time spent reviewing manuscripts, serving as editors or on editorial boards, etc., which is only partially, if at all, reimbursed. (Many commercial publishers may compensate jour-

nal editors; it is not a common practice in university press journal publishing.) Full open access, though, will push the system as far as it can go to one extreme, whereas open access that is still compatible with market-generated revenue streams will be just one more step toward that end of the spectrum spanning completely market-based to completely free-to-end-user.

17. For an analysis of the costs of publishing monographs, see Wasserman, M. 1998. How much does it cost to publish a monograph and why? *Journal of Electronic Publishing*, 4, available at http://www.press.umich.edu/jep/04–01/wasserman.html. The figures used here include some upward adjustment for inflation since 1998.
18. On the high cost of using faculty as publishers, see Day, C. 1998. Digital alternatives: solving the problem or shifting the costs? *Journal of Electronic Publishing*, 4, available at http://www.press.umich.edu/jep/04–01/day.html: '[I]t is unlikely actually that the work will be done either as well or as cheaply as it would be by professional publishing people – the economic benefits of specialization are well-attested in every other industry after all. But what is worse is that people who would otherwise be doing research and teaching, or as support staff enabling those crucial activities, are now engaged in the work of publishing to the detriment of the time available for teaching and research.'
19. JSTOR provides back issues of journals with a 'moving wall' of five years; before this period, they are available only from the publisher. If all journals in JSTOR go fully open access, then eventually there would be no material that was not freely accessible and JSTOR would remain valuable only for its back issues up to the point that open access took over.
20. Operating Statistics 2005, Association of American University Presses.
21. This is one aspect of the more general concern that has arisen in the debate over open access, viz. that 'research-intensive academic institutions will end up subsidizing access for other organizations with lower research outputs, including commercial companies'. Worlock, K. 2004. The pros and cons of open access. *Nature* Web Forum on Access to the Literature, 13 Sep 2004, available at http://www.nature.com/nature/focus/accessdebate/34.html. See also the contribution to this debate titled 'On being scientific about science publishing' by Yale's Associate Librarian, Ann Okerson, who observes of the current market-based economic model that 'it does secure resources from a wide variety of sources, including the for-profit sector, universities, colleges, research labs and of course many nations': http://www.nature.com/nature/focus/accessdebate/9.html.
22. Operating Statistics 2005, Association of American University Presses.
23. Although it is quite possible that universities would be willing to provide subsidies to faculty at a level sufficient to support the business of commercial journal publishers such as BioMed Central, it seems far less likely that they would do so for monographs published by commercial academic presses, especially since those presses do not have the transparent peer-review process that is mandatory at any university press that is a member of the AAUP. (Commercial publishers may conduct peer review, but nothing obliges them to do so, as AAUP-member presses must; and probably no commercial publisher makes its decisions by resting the authority to approve or disapprove in an editorial board consisting of faculty members. These facts are well known and provide the rationale for books published by university presses being generally given more weight in promotion and tenure decisions than those from commercial publishers.) They would also be less likely to provide sizable subsidies to societies for publishing monographs, unless there were guarantees that a significant amount of the money would not be siphoned off to support the societies' other activities.
24. See, for example, Baldwin. C. What do societies do with their publishing surpluses? Worthing, Association of Learned and Professional Society Publishers, 2004. Available at http://www.alpsp.org/ngen_public/article.asp?id=200&did=47&aid=277&st=&oaid=-1
25. The 'tipping point' was first identified as a way of explaining patterns of urban segregation, especially 'white flight,' but has since been applied to many other processes of rapid change; see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tipping_point. Malcolm Gladwell has recently popularized the idea in *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference*. Boston, MA, Little Brown, 2000.
26. See Thatcher, S. G. 2000. Fair use: a double-edged sword. *Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, 32: 3–8, available at http://www.utpjournals.com/product/jsp/321/fair1.html.

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